

with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places.

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man.

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions.

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, i.e., with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Bah*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir kahdd*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarram*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, i.e., he utters the words *Ivikanmohk*

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793 *kútmeil teu idith*. When any other Teivali man approaches,
 576 the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with
 the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and
 a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will
 be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose
 division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan
 or division.

576 If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, i.e., has been
 783 defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
 788 said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interest-
 793 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing
 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not
 been completed, he went with me to the Môdr *ti* one day and
 approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off
 the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right
 arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him
 and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any
 way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion
 Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less dis-
 tant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be
 no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have
 approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
 439 *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the
 784 Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
 793 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but
 nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through
 them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the
 buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the
 seat, or *pohvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he
 uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as
 the *mani*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks
 it on the fireplace called *tōratthwaskal* in the outer room of
 dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is
 used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for
 many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the
kalmokh. If food is prepared by the *kalmokh*, the fireplace
 outside the dairy must be used.

called Ebenput(?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *khi*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "On," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkhatitthwaskal*. The *kighlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

The *kwai* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwai*, and a *tdreum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwai* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *sidrkwai* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

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234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
 412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
 415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
 776 outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

763 All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are
 thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a
 wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other
 contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when
 rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation
 of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment
 is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the
 sacred buffaloes.

THE FIVE *ti*

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
 234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdrdoni, and Nidrsi. The
 621 Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was
 773 spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the
 name of one of its places, Tikirs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of
 the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni
 being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs
 (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the
 Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still
 has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly
 that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present
 unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a
 year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements
 of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral
 ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which
 the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these
 ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure
 peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and
 differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred
 objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will
 now be considered.

234^x described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülnkars*.
 773 At Mödr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and
 796 three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mörkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzütpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülnkars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migra-
 783 tion to the dairies of Anto and Ödrtho is one of the most
 789 extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
 793 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was
 796 wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is
 being made responsible for any offence which may have been
 committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and
 Ödrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made
 responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the
 evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not
 done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
 783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
 789 evils consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
 793 dairies of Anto and Odrtho the ceremony is still carried out
 796 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
 of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
 anointing of the *neursiunkars*, which take the place of the
 head of the *kalmokh*.

788 When the *kalmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
 first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
 793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
 796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
 taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the
 morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable
 that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open
 air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed
 to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because
 theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with
 Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of
 similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act
 of giving the *kalmokh* a larger portion of food than can
 possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in
 other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with
 the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next
 chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234^k At some time during the day following the arrival at the
 new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
 221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
 796 the Nòdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
 a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is
 given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described,
 together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the
 Nòdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other
 places he only stays till the day after the procession. The
 Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpuurs*—
i.e., "two *puurs*." One *puurs* is a day and its next day, so that
erdpuurs is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

CHAPTER VII

ORDINATION CEREMONIES

234^x BEFORE a dairyman enters upon office he has to undergo
 783 certain initial rites, which may fitly be spoken of as "ordina-
 793 tion ceremonies." These ceremonies vary greatly in their
 elaborateness, according to the dairy in which the candidate is
 to serve.

In the case of the ordinary dairyman, or *palikartmokh*, the proceedings are simple and may be accomplished in a few minutes, while for the highest grade of the priesthood they are extremely elaborate and prolonged over more than a week.

The essential feature of all the ordination ceremonies is a process of purification by drinking and washing with the water of a stream or spring used for sacred purposes only (*palinipa* or *kwoinir*). In every case the water is drunk out of certain leaves, and the body is rubbed with water mixed with the juice of young shoots or bark.

A general name for ordination is *pelkkodichiti* or *pelkkathtiti*, "lamp he lights." This name is derived from the fact that the first act in connexion with the dairy work which a new dairyman has to perform is to light the lamp of the dairy. The former of the two names given above was used especially in the case of the ordinary dairy and the latter in the case of the *ti*, but I am doubtful whether there is any strict limitation of the terms in these senses.

Another general name used for the ceremony of ordination is *nirdditi*, which in a more limited sense is applied to the drinking and purification at the dairy stream or spring which

is the essential feature of the ceremony. This term was very often used for the ceremony of ordination to the office of *palol*.

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THE PALIKARTMOKH

The ceremony of ordination of the *palikartmoxh* is called *pelkhodichiti* and very often *mulinirōditi*, the latter being derived from the *mul* leaves used in the ceremony. The ordination may take place on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday. On the day before the ceremony the candidate goes to the dairy, takes his food there, and sleeps at night in the outer room. His food is prepared and given to him either by the outgoing *palikartmoxh* or by some other man holding this office.

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On the morning of the ceremony the candidate washes his hands in the *pali nipa* and goes to the front of the dairy, having a piece of the ordinary mantle round his waist. The assisting *palikartmoxh* will have placed a small piece of the dark cloth called *tuni* on the threshold of the dairy, this small piece being called *petuni*. The candidate bows down (*nersatiti*), as in Fig. 20, at the threshold to the *petuni*, which he then raises to his forehead and puts in the string of his *karu* on the left side.

The candidate then plucks seven leaves of the kind called *muliers*—i.e., leaves of a plant called *mul* (*Rubus ellipticus*). This plant is also often called *pelkhodsthumul*, after the ceremony in which it is used. He also plucks a handful of young shoots or *sau* of the same plant, and takes the leaves and shoots to the dairy stream. At the stream he pounds the shoots with water on a stone, takes up some water from the stream with the pounded shoots, drops this water into one of the leaves three times, raises the leaf to his forehead, drinks (see Fig. 34), throws the leaf over his head and puts the shoots down on one side. When he squeezes the water from the shoots into the leaf-cup he holds the former in his right hand and the latter in his left, but when about to raise the leaf-cup to his forehead and drink he transfers it to his right hand. The candidate then takes a fresh piece of the pounded shoots and repeats with a second leaf, and so on till the seven leaves are

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I was especially told that if the candidate for the office of *wursol* wishes to scratch his head during his ordination ceremonies he must do so with a stick, but this is probably a feature of all ordination rites.

In the case of the *wursol*, it seemed that there is a difference in the ceremonial according to whether the dairy is occupied or not when the new dairyman enters upon office. The foregoing account applies to the case in which the dairy is already occupied and the new dairyman replaces another, so that there is no break in the continuity of the dairy proceedings. If the dairy should be unoccupied, I was told that the candidate would have to sleep for two nights in the wood, and there would almost certainly be additional purifications, but I did not learn the exact nature of the proceedings in this case.

Though I was only told of this difference of procedure in the case of the *wursol*, it is not unlikely that there is a corresponding difference of procedure in the case of other dairies when the dairy has been unoccupied. There will certainly be a ceremony of purification of the dairy, such as takes place when the buffaloes migrate to a new village, and probably the dairy vessels will also have to be purified.

THE KUGVALIKARTMOKH OF TARADR AND THE POHKARTPOL OF KANODRS

234* The ordination ceremonies of these two dairymen appear
178 to be almost identical. So far as I could ascertain, the feature
793 which the *kugvalikartmohh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of
Kanodrs have in common is that they serve institutions to which
a high degree of sanctity is attached. The ritual of both
dairies bears some resemblance to that of the *ti* and, as we
have already seen, the regulations for the conduct of the
pohkartpol are, in some respects, even more stringent than
those of the *palol*.

234* The *kugvalikartmohh* is ordained either on Wednesday or
793 Sunday, the *pohkartpol* on Tuesday. On the night preceding
the ordination the candidate sleeps in the wood. Seven

234^x (if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

234^x On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office.

793 In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary

292 *pennar* and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by

● 783 others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then

776 brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called

pòdrshṭuni, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarṣam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrshṭuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrshṭuni?*"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrshṭuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *upṣun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pùkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pùkh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

●●● At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

234^x and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is
 793 lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out
 to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no
 food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual,
 and the *kaltmohk* does not blow the horn in the evening. On
 the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all
 Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars
ti is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol*
 from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be
 about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which
 they are carried from one dairy to another during the
 migrations when the distance may be many miles.

231^x The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies
 184 is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rub-
 783 bing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of
 778 a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The
 788 ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli*; the
 793 dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanödrs *poh* use
 seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark,
 while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or
 Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but
 use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmohk* drinks and rubs himself seven times
 only, the *wursol* and *kaltmohk* seven times seven, while at
 various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three
 times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by
 touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary
 dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the
 dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmohk*, and the *pohkarti* of
 Kanödrs touch the *mw*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo
 pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The
kaltmohk and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a
 bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of
 the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmohk* also
 touches a *mw* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy.

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wursol* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmohk*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

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CHAPTER VIII

SPECIAL DAIRY CEREMONIES

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I HAVE so far dealt with the organisation and ritual of the dairy, with the ceremonies accompanying the movements of the buffaloes from one place to another, and with the ceremonies attendant on the entrance of the dairymen into office. There remain ceremonies which accompany certain events in the course of the dairy ritual or in the lives of the buffaloes. One of these, the *pepkaricha* ceremony, is performed whenever any evil befalls a certain dairy vessel which is buried in the buffalo pen. Another ceremony celebrates the birth of a calf, and a group of ceremonies are connected with the act of giving salt to the buffaloes.

THE PEPKARICHA CEREMONY

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In the account of the daily work of the dairy, it will be remembered that whenever the dairyman goes out to milk for the first time he puts some buttermilk into his milking vessel. This is done in every dairy, and the buttermilk so added is called *pep*. The milk of every day has mixed with it some of the buttermilk from the milking of the day before, and in this way continuity is kept up in the dairy operations. Under certain conditions this continuity is broken and new *pep* has to be made, and the process of doing so is the ceremony called *pepkaricha*, *pepkarichti*, or *pepkarichannur* — i.e., "*pep* he purifies," or, "if *pep* is purified."

In some cases new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan

(*madol*); in other cases it has only to be made for one of the dairies of the clan.

The ceremony is performed for the whole clan whenever anything goes wrong with a certain dairy vessel called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen at the chief village of the clan. We have seen that this vessel is used in the ordination to certain dairy offices, and it is also inspected as a matter of routine about once a year. If it is broken or has been stolen or tampered with in any way, it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Among the Tartharol, new *pep* has also to be made after the funeral of a male on account of the defilement of the *mani* involved in its exposure to the ordinary people at the funeral ceremonies.

The conditions which necessitate the making of new *pep* for a single dairy are, (1) if a Tamil or other "foreigner" has entered the dairy, (2) if an ordinary Toda (*perol*) has gone into the dairy at night, (3) if the dairyman has used tobacco. In these cases the people of the village at which the offence has been committed procure a new *mu*, and, after purifying it, go to some other dairy of the clan, where they procure some buttermilk to act as *pep* and take it to their own dairy. It is only when new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan that the prolonged ceremony of *pepkarichti* has to be carried out. This ceremony differs in its details for each clan, and is more complicated in some cases than in others. As an example, I will give the proceedings for the Kuudr clan.

When it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole group of dairies belonging to the clan it is necessary to take the buffaloes to one special dairy. The Kuudr people go to the dairy of Kwirg near Sholur. On the day of going to Kwirg, a feast is held at which the food called *ashkkartipimi* is eaten.

Whenever new *pep* is made it is necessary to have a new *palikartmohk*, and the man who is to undertake the duties goes to Kwirg with the milking buffaloes of the *pasthir* and is accompanied by a number of Kuudr men. The men take with them a new and complete set of dairy vessels, and reach Kwirg in the early morning of a Sunday after the new moon.

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The buffaloes are at once penned in the *tu*. The first business is the ordination of the new *palikartmokh*, which is carried out as usual. When at the stream for the purification ceremony, the *palikartmokh* has with him a new *mu*, which he fills with water at the stream. He takes this vessel to the *tu* in which the buffaloes are penned, and knocks one of the buffaloes on the back with his wand (*pet*), so that it moves to one side. Then with the wand he digs some earth from the spot where the hoof of the buffalo had been resting, and mixes this earth with *tudr* bark. He places part of the mixed earth and bark in the *mu*, and puts the rest on one side; this part of the ceremony is called *mukatchkudrspini*, or purification of the *mu*,¹ literally "*mu* purification I have purified."

The *palikartmokh* then brings all the other dairy vessels and implements, beginning with the *patat*, and purifies them by throwing on them mixed earth and *tudr* bark, sprinkling them with water from the *mu* three times, saying "*On*" each time. The things of the *patatmar* are purified first and then the things of the *ertatmar*, and the purified objects are placed in the dairy. Fire is made by friction and the *palikartmokh* goes out to milk. Buttermilk is not put into the milking-vessel as usual, and the lamp is not lighted. The milk is poured into the *patat*, and the *palikartmokh* then prepares food, which he gives to the people who have come with him, but he himself fasts. All the men then go away except one or two, who are to remain as companions of the dairyman. In the evening the *palikartmokh* takes off some of the cream,¹ which has risen to the top of the milk, and puts it into the lamp which he lights, and then prays, using the *kwarzam* of Kwirg² and the *kwarzam* of the *pep* only.

If the milk has coagulated it is now churned, and then the buffaloes are milked as usual, but if the milk has not coagulated, it is left till next morning. In the evening the dairyman takes food as usual.

On the following day, it seems that the milk has always

¹ This is the only occasion on which this cream is used by the Todas. It is used because there are now neither butter nor ghi at the dairy. Its use here is an indication that the process of coagulation is less rapid than usual.

² See p. 222.

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become solid and is churned. Immediately after churning and without taking food, the dairyman puts together the dairy things according to the usual method followed when going from one village to another, and goes with his buffaloes to the village of Kiudr. The dairy vessels are carried in the usual manner, the new buttermilk called *puthpep* being in the *patat* and the butter in the *mu*.

The people living at Kiudr leave the village, and the man who has been filling the office of *palikartmohk* there throws away all the old dairy things and takes the *mani* to the stones by the side of that dairy called *neursi'inkars* (see p. 129). After leaving the bells there for a little time, the dairyman takes them to the *pali nipa*, and then his office ceases and he becomes *perol*.

The new *palikartmohk*, who has come from Kwing, purifies the dairy and his new dairy vessels and the *mani* in exactly the same way as when reaching a new dairy, and then places the bells, vessels, and other objects in the dairy. During the next month, till the following new moon, the dairyman and his companions stay alone at Kiudr doing the ordinary business of the dairy. During this time they may be visited by men of the Kuudr clan, but neither by women nor by men of other clans. At the end of the month, on the Sunday after the new moon, the *palikartmohk* drives the buffaloes (now called *ponir*, festival buffaloes) to Kuudr, taking with him the *puthpep* and the dairy vessels. When the people at Kuudr see the dairyman coming with the *ponir*, they leave the village and all go to Kiudr, which the buffaloes have just left. There they hold a feast to which many people of other clans, both men and women, are invited.

When the *palikartmohk* reaches Kuudr, he purifies the dairy as he had done at Kiudr and puts the vessels in their places.

Certain men of the clan then come, each with a new *mu*, and these vessels are laid by the side of the stones called *brinkars* and *tashtikars* in the wall of the pen. At Kuudr fifteen new *mu* should be brought by the fifteen heads of families of the Kuudr clan. The *palikartmohk* then purifies each *mu* with *tudr* bark in the usual way and places the

234^x vessels on the *patatmar* of the dairy, after which he gives food to those who have provided the vessels.

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The *palikartmokh* with his companion or companions then stay at Kuudr for a month, when, again on a Sunday after the new moon, all the Kuudrol assemble at Kuudr and hold a feast. On that day a new *palikartmokh* is appointed for each dairy of the Kuudr clan. Each man goes through the usual ordination ceremony and then receives one of the new *mu* containing some of the new *pep*, which he takes to his dairy. Each new dairyman also provides new dairy vessels, and, when he reaches his dairy, purifies the *mu* and the new dairy things in the way already described. He puts the vessels into the dairy and then goes to milk, taking some of the new *pep* in his milking-vessel, and thereafter matters go on as usual. Each new dairyman fasts while going to his dairy with the new *pep*, although the rest of the people are feasting.

Those who remain at Kuudr bury the *mu* in which the *pep* was brought from Kwing. It is buried by the side of the pen, under a tree called *teikhtwadiki*.

The ceremony of making new *pep* is carried out on the same lines in all dairies, but usually it is less complicated and fewer villages have to be visited than in the case of the Kuudrol. It seems that there is a tendency in some clans to perform the ceremony less rigidly than of old. Thus, the Kars people used to go to Keshker for new *pep*, but now they perform the ceremony at Kars itself, so that the migration to a new place with its attendant ceremonial is avoided.

There are certain differences in the procedure in the case of Teivali and Tarthar clans. One, the necessity for new *pep* after the funeral of a male, has been already mentioned.

Another difference is that there is a buried *mu* for each kind of dairy, so that a clan which has two or three kinds of dairy will have two or three *mu* buried in the pen. If it is the *mu* belonging to the *wursuli* which is broken or tampered with, the ceremony is performed by the *wursol*, who takes earth from the footprints of one of the *wursulir*. If the *mu* of the *kudrpali* is injured, the *kudrpalikartmokh* performs the ceremony, taking earth from the footprints of one of the other

kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *martir*.

At Kanòdrs new *pep* has to be made at a place called Kautarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanòdrs, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pep* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo.

Another special feature of the Kanòdrs dairy is connected with the buried *mu* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *polikariopol* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *mu*, pours into it a small quantity of *pep*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *mu* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pep* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tarthar clans, the full ceremony of *pepkaricha* is only carried out when the *mu* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pep*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pep*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one

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seemed that *peiaspiti* was merely the *ti* form of *kaiaspiti*, "he washes the hands."

The following day is called *āphārvnol*. On this day small Badaga children go to the *ti mad* and the *palol* gives them clarified butter on a leaf. On this day also any one who has been a *palol* (*patol*) may go to the *ti mad* and receive food unless the funeral ceremonies for one of his clan should still be uncompleted.

The ceremonies of *ponup* were said to be designed to invite the gods to be present by means of the clay vessels. The *tudr* bark and leaves were said to be used in order to purify these vessels after their defilement by human hands in the process of making.

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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

IN the preceding chapters I have given an account of an elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character, and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulae which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities. 182
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It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and butter-milk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
 771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

783 The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
 788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
 776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features
 being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the
 milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them,
 and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious cere-
 monies in which communion is held with the divine by eating
 or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when
 salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the
 object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of
 milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes,
 and the occasions on which the salt is given have become
 religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached
 a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to
 the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making
 new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some
 speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later
 (see p. 242).

COMPARISON OF THE PROCEDURE OF DIFFERENT DAIRIES

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
 783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

788 One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
 778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels
 and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or
 their milk, and those which come into contact with the
 outside world, or with the products of the churning which
 may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes
 in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know,
 no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy, we already meet with the

separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wursuli*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kuvun*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *uppun* or the *mörpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

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234 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The
 778 lamp is not lighted directly from the *tōratthwaskal*, which is
 788 probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is
 ● 783 transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from
 which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an inter-
 mediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents
 the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy
 is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any
 money to the *palol* at Mōdr, I placed it on a stone from which
 it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A
 similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is
 brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the
 above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol*
 and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the
kugvali of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of inter-
 mediate links, but there is such an example during the ordina-
 tion of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candi-
 date milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it
 directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but
 first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that
 into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in
 different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of
 dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the
 contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected
 with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of
 the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches
 ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *paial* at the beginning of
 the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both
 morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial
 touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any
 account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*,
 in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the
 dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi*
 ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
 778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
 783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and
 788 Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial
 is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of
irpalvusthi, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi*
 in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,¹ the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
 778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon
 788 three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol*
 knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The
 second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the
 milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

¹ I am doubtful about this point at the *pal* of Kamdra.

- 234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
 445 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
 778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
 788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan.
 It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by
 the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full develop-
 ment of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its
 special sanctity.
- 261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
 788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy
 ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the
Kalmokh has to undergo on the day after the migration of
 the Nòdrs *tito* Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has
 also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the
 preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food
 is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no
 suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I
 know of any parallel for it.

PURITY AND IMPURITY

- 234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual,
 ● 783 the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after
 a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairy-
 man, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making
 of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men
 and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and
 that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they
 must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised: (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after child-birth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priest-hood.

WOMEN AND THE DAIRY

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time.

Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *pali*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

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173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
 782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
 796 nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony⁷ was of great
 574 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem
 to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former
 importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and
 Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the
 chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat
 the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
 796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Tentütusthchi* is
 certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that
 213 *erkumpthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though
 now it may be performed several times in the year. Even
 now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one
 occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special
 importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a
 different nature. They are mostly occasions on which
 offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some
 are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made
 when an offence which has been committed has brought
 some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of
 the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the
 removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of
 removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the
 part of the sufferer.

712 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
 234 *kwadrthpimi*—i.e., we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably
 means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of
 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a
 man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes
 not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a
 funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death,
 but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk.
 The *Tentütusthchi* Ceremony; See pp. 290-291 — Analyst

753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
 792 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
 787 offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
 688 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
 796 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove
 it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed
 and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the
 offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies
 of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the cere-
 mony which has been ordered. The following is probably a
 typical instance. Ten years ago Kôdrner fell ill and one of
 his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *tesol*,
 who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from
 the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *sanadal* or sacred
 days of Kara and Kuzhu. They had also driven their
 buffaloes from Kara to Isharadr on their *arpatnal*; there
 had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven
 them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatnal*.
 The *tesol* said they must do *iravrititi*, and on the following
 Sunday Kôdrner went first to the *Andrapali* of Kara (Tarriolv)
 and then to the *wazzali* (Karsiolv) and made the following
 vow at each :—

<i>te kar</i>	<i>iravrititi</i>	<i>tesol</i>	<i>iravrititi</i>
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	Illness from	be well I, buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I
 recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."¹

687 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
 792 *iravrititi* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
 793 a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
 673 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
 796 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners
 to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his
 fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recover-
 ing from the illness or removing any other ill which his

¹ From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at
618 any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtihars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nödrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
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618 "Tuninörtpol bon!"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
 796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
 621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down,
 touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this
 the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the
 men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the
tuninörtpol enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food
 by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the
 dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after
 night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the
 village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and
 then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

792 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
 793 is differentiated from those already described in that it may
 688 be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
 796 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
 618 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an
 621 atonement for an offence. Ködrner, my guide, had to give
 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or
 clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at
 the villages of Kiudr and Kanödrs, noted for the special
 sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony
 is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at
 Nidrei I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in
 the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates
 that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this
 village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at
 Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at
 this place.

792 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
 793 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*.
 688 If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
 796 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food. 782 783●

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr¹ which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pinlörtol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:— 786 618

<i>Tücsud,</i>	<i>türmdud;</i>	<i>atch</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>tä</i>	<i>mä,</i>	<i>atch</i>	539
May it be well,	may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little	782
<i>moth tä</i>	<i>mä;</i> <i>kar</i>	<i>kuläth,</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>kuleiti</i>	<i>tä</i>		
son give	may; calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk	give		
<i>mä,</i> <i>kar</i>	<i>neäth,</i>	<i>neäiti</i>	<i>tä</i>	<i>mä;</i>	<i>opäth</i>	<i>äim</i>	
may, calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal	
<i>äthi</i> <i>juänerä</i>	<i>kwar</i>	<i>arki</i>	<i>mädi;</i>	<i>mä</i>	<i>ärk mä;</i>		
it is twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;		
<i>uäri</i>	<i>ärk mä;</i>	<i>kazun</i>	<i>ärk mä;</i>	<i>per</i>			
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no <i>kazun</i> ;	may there be			
<i>ärk mä.</i>							
no Tamil.							

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kazun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted: 000

¹ This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

308 THE TODAS *The last clause* CHAP.
 was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
 782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
 805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any inter-
 193 course with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely
 long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of
 combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is
 one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language.
 It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical
 with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
 783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts
 796 them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
 618 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr
 and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way
 home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the
 property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is
 very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not
 divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who
 takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of
irnörtiti and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a
 man of one division of the clan to the members of the other
 division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atone-
 ment for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of
 which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the
 Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to
 Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing
 from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the
 property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the
 chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
 753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
 777 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of
 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit
 the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

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Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumpitthipimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadmerns. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.¹ The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumpitthipimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tervsthi* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *ernörtisi* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

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¹ According to a later finding of the *tsuol*, the death of Tervseli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
 761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
 688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
 782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithi* to
 ● 783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving
 of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
 782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
 783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
 777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
 688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure
 of the Nödrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this
 institution.

Ködner, who had been my general assistant, was directed
 to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that
 all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because
 the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations
 which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
 796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
 783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
 688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
 782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were
 to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have
 been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of
 which he was able to give me any account took place on
 January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the
 Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mödr, where the buffaloes
 of the Nödrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon
 them for the sins they had committed in revealing its
 secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the
 dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not
 told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by
 prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation
 adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti*
 to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
 688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
 796 Ködner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of *pilinörtiti* to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

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782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
688 whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than
618 that they now possess.

796 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
religious sanction has been added to the system of social
punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the
offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter
supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole
mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which
should be made to a higher power may remain the property
of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is
accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more
or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial
show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases
a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to
regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a
system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once
a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given
to the gods.

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,¹ and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtipimi*, "to Namav we give."

[713] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

776 I saw the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* on two occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol.

784 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious

846 and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman, Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tirikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudivuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

<i>Marvut</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>mikh</i>	<i>moh</i>	(or <i>kugh</i>)	<i>malpatia</i> ?
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

2 [of the seclusion of a woman following the birth of a child -- Analysis]

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral
793 become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a
793 funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw
616 earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and
618 incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—i.e., they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mörol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind. 765

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakhudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakhudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,¹ "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmohk* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

THE KOOTITI CEREMONY

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *kootiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose. 234 765 177 783

¹ *Kakhri* is the generic word for creeper.

765 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about
 234 four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another
 177 buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place
 ● 783 and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not
 with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes.
 It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol*
 made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called
kegampkwidr (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood
 which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of
tudr leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the
 blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the
 name *kodtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the
 present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes
 killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the
 blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female
 buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which
 the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a
 Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments,
 including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain
 (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet
 (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The
 remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only,
 are carried by two women to the place where the calf is
 standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the
 former throwing before and behind him as he walks the
 mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol*
 comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the
 Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of
 the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow
 in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs*
adikina?"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time
 the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then
 touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down
 the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the
 spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to
 move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*"
 and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads.
 The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed,
but is allowed to go free.

but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral. 177
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The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *arṭṭarvutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—i.e., funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narshedr*.

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony [778] is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used. The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmohk*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnōdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi jowa*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.¹ It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

¹ See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii, p. 4.

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the
last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to
you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In
your *asaram* place I see nothing but grass growing." 533
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PURIFICATION CEREMONIES

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of
the first new moon after the *marvoinolkedr*. 234

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion
the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following
the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown
away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through
the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to
repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday
after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordina-
tion of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed
as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts
the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not
re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the
old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies,
takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it
all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes
the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on
which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper
place on the *patamar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified
and put in their places in the usual manner. 783
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This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol,
and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairy-
man who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral
ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrnol, the *mani* between
the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken
back to Odr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

234 second funeral, and it is at *Ödr* that the purification takes
765 place.

763 Similarly the *Kars mani* is returned from *Taradrkirsi* to
793 *Kars* on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
778 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
among the *Tartharol*, and it seems as if this new appointment
of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy
vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolke-dr*
is designed to purify the places used during the funeral
rites and especially the *asaram*. This ceremony is called
kertnōdrkarchpimi, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnōdr-
vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep."
On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two
men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the
early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile
from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock,
and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a
stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and
mix the blood with earth in a basket. The *Teivaliol* and
Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The
mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over
the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the
dead body or the *narske-dr* had lain at the two funerals, at the
methekudi and the *asaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and
marvainol-ke-dr are different and far distant from one another,
the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most
important place which must always be purified in this way is
the *asaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified,
and the men then throw away the basket and go straight
back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having
fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males.
The buffalo killed is called the *nōdrvusthpir*. The *Teivaliol*
and *Melgarsol* use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the
Tartharol, other than the *Melgarsol*, use an adult female
buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left
where it falls and is not given to the *Kotas*.

After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory.

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THE FUNERALS OF CHILDREN

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut.

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If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *etvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *asaramkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karaol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Pimpall.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kuriol of Kudir, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years

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a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen.

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kasun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kasun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.¹ That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies.

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tersampipini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolhedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be

¹ In Teluk's lament for Fidirvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a *Kari kasun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kasun*.

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
 765 to purify the Tartharol with *tsar* before they go to Amnòdr,
 184 and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads,
 and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by
 the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected
 with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy
 ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies
 616 of the two divisions is that the *maní*, or sacred bell, is not
 764 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to
 778 be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdra
 clan. The use of a *maní* at the funeral appears to be pre-
 783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a con-
 sequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify
 the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has
 been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact
 that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo call for
 the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is
 connected in some way with the use of *tsar* by these
 divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not
 purified with *tsar* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between
 the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the
 differences between the procedures of the two divisions are
 largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *maní*
 among the Tartharol and of the *tsar* tree among the Teivaliol,
 and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies
 come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in
 funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different
 organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
 776 divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali
 man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the
 ceremony called *patthali tsar gani* (see p. 503), a man

through life, amongst his fellow-men, a large amount of respect, as having once been a God.

CHAP.
XIV.

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The following description of the process, which *all* men undergo, in the course of being sanctified to the performance of any holy duty, will prove interesting:

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For the space of a week—*etinal*; literally speaking, eight days, and corresponding to *is acht tagen* in German—the novitiate must remain day and night alone in the woods of the *tirik*, without a particle of clothing and with only a fire to protect him from the severity of the climate. He beats with a stone, the bark off a branch of the *tide*² tree, which he collects. Then three times each day, morning, noon, and evening, he performs the following ceremony. Squeezing some of the juice of the bark, into a leaf-cup containing water from the stream or spring, he raises the cupfull with the right hand to his forehead, in token of respect: then lowering it to his mouth and drinking off the contents, passes the empty leaf round over his head and left shoulder, then depositing it behind his right side. This formula is repeated three times, using a fresh leaf each time. Next, he takes the remainder of the bark, and rubs his naked body all over with it, washing himself immediately in the fresh water. On the eighth day he is competent to assume charge of his office.

The week's ordeal has been extremely severe, both in point of exposure and of solitude, and one well calculated to make a salutable impression on a man who is about to undertake a solemn duty. The *kivilil* has supplied him with food from the *tirik* all this time, and there is reason for believing that the *pilil* and *kivilil* see that the novitiate does not slur the proper performance of the rites.

The *Todas* have no distinctive word to express purification, but describe the effect by saying *ani*² *will*, 'he is right,' by the process.

² *Tide*, tree, *shide*, the juice—*a stick of small shrub*. *Tiril*. [FOOT.]

² *Sat*. In *Dikidil* *ani*—right. [FOOT.]

TIRIÉRI PRIESTS.

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CHAP.
XIV.

137 Though the proper meaning of the word *tôde*, is simply a
 778 bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying pur-
 824 poses, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all
 others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and
 by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower,
 seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-
 Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic
 names, viz., *Meliosma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*.

Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me
 with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of
 the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the
 most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form
 geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to
 other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan.
 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as
 to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla
 eastward. Khasia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam.
 From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula.
 It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South
 Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas
 783 form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use
 824 of the *tôde*, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable
 778 that they brought with them, merely, the already established
 practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding
 in the country of their adoption that which they had been
 accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the
tôde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter,
 as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making
 the bull-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote
 ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support
 is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification
 by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of
 the pre-Aryan—Dravidian—race, now living in various tracts

about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palola, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkulis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palola demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palola, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikara bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikara bridge, they take their hand out of the putkuli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikara river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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[867] The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

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783 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating," here should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to inter-dine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

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[113] * See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

791 the first time, introducing new utensils into the dairy and
 233 preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching
 232 the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk
 794 from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes;
 ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions
 of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions
 surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the
 milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as
 the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive
 operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity
 that it can be sold to outsiders.

794 Rivers (pp. 447-9) dealt with the various elements of the
 796 dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities,
 114 the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the *pofoi*, the priest of the
 [234] most sacred grade of dairy, the *ti*. He rightly rejected all these
 as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p.
 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divi-
 nities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its *nódrochi*,
 or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do.
 In general the *nódrochi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill
 near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one
 another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about
 the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is
 possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur
 the anger of the gods it is the *nódrochi* who is chiefly offended
 and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man
 or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities.
 Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of
 divinities, the *tóuŋm* and the *tóuŋŋ*. The Todas are not very
 articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in
 general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said
 on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the
 songs.

[533] ¹ This ceremony, the *wyŋŋŋŋŋ*, is performed for a sacred buffalo only
 and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point.
 The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is
 released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the
 dairymen says the name, e.g. *kaŋŋŋm*, and then strikes the buffalo three
 times with the wand, saying *hō* at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this
 ceremony the buffalo is classed as *hō*, after it as *wyŋ*.

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Toda culture thirty-five years after

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the *touŋuŋ* and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (*tūŋ*) which are gods (*tou*)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the siba. They have connexions with the villages of the siba (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. *tōkiŋ* created most of the Toda institutions at the *mund nou* and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these *touŋuŋ* are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The *tōnouŋ* are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the *munds*, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at *munds*. Most *munds* consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the *mund* is the *tōnouŋ* and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as *an* as opposed to the dairy section of the *mund* which is *nou* "sacred place." Within the *nou* it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the *nou* itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the *mund* as *tōn* "god" or *nou* "sacred place" or *tōnouŋ*, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

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794 114 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

796 is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noṛ "sacred place"
 797 may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude
 798 that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the
 799 localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phrasology are as
 792 follows:

796	no:ro:selm	ku:tjanθnoṛ
797	sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
798	tōu:selm	"
799	gods-all	"

1. e. "(noṛ), the sacred place to which the goddess tō:kiṛ gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθarm	ku:mtuθnoṛ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
uṛeθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

1. a. "the place (gr. god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noṛxu:ḍtk	pimθnoṛ
sacred places-meeting-to	to which went-sacred place
tōu:noṛtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

1. a. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund my:nj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθuṛ, the tōu:noṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.² From this the tōu:noṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōu:noṛ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

¹ See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

² The two numbers make the song-pair; pa:ruṇḍḍe, pa:ruṇḍḍe "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kṛṣṇa)" of the mund my:nj, which is pa:ruṇḍḍe, said to mean "the standing place (name) of the 1800 gods (represented by pa:ruṇḍḍe)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

[Melgarsh Village]

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THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
 796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
 183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also
 given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother
 getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now com-
 plained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be
 left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf
 took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
 orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of
 [865] jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the
 time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
 [789] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
 [793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable
 to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purifica-
 tion. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean),
 he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen.
 He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were al-
 ready in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of
 children and the early development and education of the latter, I was
 obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations
 (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow
 for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
 [862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and
 a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam,
 two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even
 after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.

[856] The fact that the babes had teathed when they were seven months old
 had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly
 bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and
 scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad
 in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household
 articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying ag-
 gressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her.
 They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but
 also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.

862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the
 plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins